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# THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE שָׁא ACCORDING TO NEW HEXAPLARIC MATERIAL

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On the subject of the pronunciation of the שָׁא (ֿ) BEN ASHER (דְּקדוּקַי הַשְּׁעִמִּים, §§ 11–14, pp. 12 ff.) lays down the following rules: (a) ֿ at the beginning of a word (a) unaccompanied by גְּעִיה (ֿ) is sounded as a פִּתְחָה קְטַנָּה (= סְגוּל) pronounced quickly (בְּמַהֲרָה), e. g. בְּרוּךְ Gen. 26:29, בְּנִי ib. 46:5, בְּרִית Num. 10:33, hence *bērūk, bēnē, bēṛīp*; (β) with גְּעִיה (ֿ) as a פִּתְחָה גְּדוּלָּה (= פִּתְחָה, presumably in the same tempo), e. g. בְּבוֹא Ps. 51:2, לְכוּ ib. 46:9, בְּלִכְתֶּךָ Prov. 4:12, בְּשִׁכְבְּךָ ib. 6:22, בְּרַעְתּוֹ ib. 14:32, hence *bābō, lākū, bālektēkā, bāšokbēkā, bārā'āpō*; (γ) when followed by a laryngeal (אֶהְיֶה), it is assimilated in pronunciation to the next following vowel, e. g. בְּהִנּוֹת Judg. 1:7, תֶּאֱהָבוּ Prov. 1:22, לֶהֱלִכָה Ps. 10:8, רַעְלִיָּה Ezr. 2:2, hence *bohōnōp, te'ēhābū, leḥēlākā, re'ēlāiā*; and so without גְּעִיה: בְּאֵר, מֵאֵר, מֵיחָה, מֵעוּכָה, שְׂאֵר, מֵאֵר, || (b) in the middle of a word, of two consecutive ֿs the first is not sounded at all, while the second is pronounced (after the above-mentioned manner), e. g. וַיִּשְׁלַחוּ, וַיִּקְרְאוּ, וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ, *uāiṣṣ-luhū, uāiṣṣkru'ū, uāiṣṣmu'ū*; || (c) in the middle of a word, when preceded by (a vowel and) גְּעִיה and followed by a laryngeal (and the vowel *ō* or *ā*), under ר but sporadically also under another consonant, the ֿ is sounded (presumably in the manner mentioned), e. g. בְּרָחוּב Gen. 19:2, מְרֵאוֹת ib. 27:1, מְרֵעוֹת Ezek. 34:10, הִרְחַבְהָ לְקַחָה Gen. 2:23, לְקַחִי I Ki. 17:11, שְׂמֵעָה Ps. 39:13, הִשְׁחִיתוּ הַתְּעִיבוּ ib. 14:1, hence *bārōḥōb, mēro'ōp, mēro'ōp, hārāḥābā, lūkāḥā, likīhī, šimā'ā, hiṣṣīhīpū, hipī'ībū*; contrast לְרָחוּק, לְרֵאוֹת, לְרֵאוֹת, לְרֵאוֹת *lirḥōk, lir'ōp, bir'ōp, kir'ōp*; || (d) ֿ is always sounded in the middle of a word under a geminate consonant, e. g. וַיִּנְבְּאוּ, וַיִּפְּאוּ, נִשְׂאוֹ, לְקַחוּ, נִדְּחוּ, נִדְּחִי, נִדְּחִי,

*uēnibū'ū, duku'ū, niso'o, luḳuhū, niḏuhū, niḏehē*; || (e) in all other cases ׀ in the middle of a word is not sounded, e. g. פִּינְחָס, לָקְחוּ, שָׁמְעוּ, יִצְחָק, קָרְעוּ, זָרְעוּ, נָטְעוּ, יִרְאוּ, בָּרְחוּ, hence *pīnhās, ǝār'ū, nāf'ū, zār'ū, ḳār'ū, ǝaš'ū, šām'ū, lāḳhū, bārḥū*; || (f) ׀ at the beginning of a word followed by ׀ is sounded as *i* (בְּחֹדָא נְקֹדָא, ׀), e. g. בְּיֹם, לְיֹם, וְיֵד, לְיָקִים, hence *biḏōm, liḏōm, uḏiād, liḏāḳīm*; hence also לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּיִקְרוּתֶיךָ, etc., *liḏisrā'el, biḏiḳrōpēkā*, etc.; || (g) certain scribes introduce a ׀ in cases like וּנְפַתְחָה Gen. 43:21, שָׁמְעָה Ps. 39:13, וַאֲשַׁמְעָה Dan. 8:13, וַנִּקְרָאָה Zech. 8:3; Est. 2:14, וַנִּזְרַעָה Num. 5:21, וַאֲשַׁקְלָה Ezr. 8:25, קָהָת Num. 4:2, הַקָּהָתִי 3:27, הַקָּהָתִים 10:21, הַקָּעִירָה 7:85, הַפְּרִנּוֹת I Sam. 23:1, כַּתְּנוֹת Exod. 28:40, מִרְדְּכִי Est. 2:5; 4:12 and many more, while other scribes write a simple ׀; but the matter is of no importance ("it has no root") and it is simply one of scribal choice; that is to say, certainly in the examples with a laryngeal following, the pronunciation is governed by the rules mentioned, and the indication of the pronunciation in script is unnecessary; || (h) when ׀ intervenes in the middle of a word between two similar consonants, the Masorete Pīnhās writes ׀, e. g. כְּכִכִּים Exod. 25:20, הַמִּשְׁרָרִים I Chr. 9:33, שׁוֹטְטִי Jerem. 5:1, etc.; so also under ר (preceded by one of the מְלִכִּין, comp. reference § 13, footnote f): מְרַפְּדִים Exod. 19:2, הַרְרוּחָה Exod. 8:11; but also elsewhere, e. g. וַיִּקְרַב Ps. 58:22, וַיִּסַּר Dan. 6:23, וַיִּשְׁבָּה Judg. 5:12, גִּדִּי Exod. 23:19, קָשִׁי Deut. 9:27, יִכְתֹּבם Isa. 10:9. Comp. on the latter subject more fully §§ 33, 34, where גְּעִיָּה is mentioned as a condition; thus רַבְבוֹת Num. 10:36, but רַבְבוֹת Deut. 33:17, the ׀ not being sounded in the latter instance, hence *riḇḇōp*; ׀ is likewise silent in cases like יִשְׁחַרְנִי Hos. 5:15, though גְּעִיָּה precedes, hence *iššahārūnnī*; in the case of מַ after the article, with גְּעִיָּה preceding, we find indifferently ׀ and ׀, thus הַמִּתְעַבִּים Mic. 3:9, but הַמִּיִּלְדֹת Exod. 1:17; the cases are enumerated in full.

Similar rules are laid down by HAIŪĞ in the Introduction to his Treatise on the Weak and Geminative Verbs in Hebrew (ed. JASTROW, Leyden, 1897, p. 6 ff.; the passage was previously edited and translated by the same scholar in *ZAW.*, V [1885], 209 ff.;

comp. also the Hebrew translations in DUKES, *Beiträge zur ältesten Auslegung, etc.*, 1844, Hebrew Supplement, 4–6; 19 f.; also the passage in the ספר הנקוד, ib. 200 ff.; see also KÖNIG, *Lehrgebäude*, I, 665 ff.). The following deviations (if we may speak of such in view of the unclear language of BEN ASHER) may be noted: Ad *a* γ he remarks that when the vowel following the laryngeal is  $\text{ֿ}$ , it becomes difficult to sound the  $\text{ֿ}$  as a  $\text{ֿ}$ , and is therefore pronounced as *a* (بالفتح), e. g. גַּדְּרָה, לְהָבִים, דְּאֶנָּה, hence *gă'ārā, lāhābīm, dā'āzā, pāhādīm*. The same pronunciation (بالفتح, comp. IBN EZRA, צחות, ed. Ven. קלה *a*:

בפתח חטף והטעם שוא עם פתח; he limits it, however, to cases where the next vowel is  $\text{ֿ}$ , e. g. שְׂמֵרִים he appears to assign to the  $\text{ֿ}$  in the cases enumerated by BEN ASHER in *a* and *β* (hence without regard to the געיה), e. g. בְּרָכָה, קָלָלָה, מְדוּדִים, דְּשֵׁנִים, גְּלִילִים, hence *bārākā, kālālā, nādūdīm, dāšenīm, gālīlīm*. An obvious exception is made in the case of a  $\text{ֿ}$  originating in Semitic *u*, e. g. קִרְשִׁים, גִּרְנוֹת, רָאִי, אֲנִיָּה, which is to be sounded as *ö*. Ad *b*, HAIŪĞ is explicit as to the difference between a laryngeal and a non-laryngeal following the second  $\text{ֿ}$ ; thus יִשְׁמָרֶנּוּ is to be pronounced *īšmu'ū* (بالضم), but יִשְׁמָרוּ *īšmārū* (بالفتح); יִרְמִיָּהוּ (in consonance with BEN ASHER's

rule under *f*) *īrmīāhū* (يالكسر). A new rule (*i*) given by HAIŪĞ touches the double  $\text{ֿ}$  at the end of a word, e. g. וַיִּבֶן Gen. 46:29; יִפֹּת ib. 9:27; שְׂמִיָּה Isa. 47:7; when occurring in the context, the second  $\text{ֿ}$  is vocal, but it is silent in pause. To this rule IBN EZRA takes exception; it is clearly impossible to vocalize the  $\text{ֿ}$  in a combination like יִפֹּת אֱלֹהִים Gen. 9:27. IBN EZRA further states that in examples like לְרֹאשִׁיב, בְּרֹאשִׁיב, etc., the  $\text{ֿ}$  is silent.

Whereas ABRAHAM BALMES gives the  $\text{ֿ}$  in בְּרָכָה, etc., the sound of *ā* (פתח גדול), DURAN (מעשה אפוד, p. 34) is explicit in vindicating for it the sound of a very short *ē* (להתקרב תנועתו). לתנועת הסגול אבל שהיא יותר קצרה).

Comp. also M. SCHREINER, "Zur Geschichte der Aussprache des Hebräischen," in *ZA W.* VI (1886), 236–39. 245. 256. 258.

On the pronunciation of the  $\text{—}$  in the Septuagint, particularly the Hexaplaric remains, see FRANKEL, *Vorstudien*, § 23, p. 121 f.; FIELD, *Hexapla*, lxxiv. The observations given there are extremely meager, and the subject requires much fuller handling. Reserving an examination of the Septuagint and the older Hexaplaric data for a future occasion, I may be permitted to present the evidence as far as it is based on the new and much more copious Hexaplaric material discovered by MERCATI and others and excerpted in the second Supplement to the Oxford Concordance.

(a)  $\text{—}$  at the beginning of a word:

(aβ) followed by a non-laryngeal; transcribed by *a* (19 times):  
*βανη* בָּנִי 17:46 (where no book is named, the references are all to Psalms); *βακααλ* בָּקָהָל 34:18; *βαμεθγε* בְּמֵתָה 31:9; *βαφιευ* בְּפִיָּה 48:14; *βαχας* בָּכַעַס 30:10; *καρωθ* (sic) קָרָב 31:9; *κασε* קָצֶה 45:10; *λαβαλωθ* לְבָלוֹת 48:15; *λαμαλχη* לְמִלְכִי 88:28; *λαμαν* לְמָן 29:13; *λαμεσφατι* לְמִשְׁפָּטִי 34:23; *λανεδ* לָנֶד 35:2; *λαχολ* לָחַל 17:31; *μαλαμμεδ* מִלְמֵד 17:35; *νακαμωθ* נְקָמוֹת 17:48; *σαβαωθ* צָבָאוֹת 45:8, 12; *φανη* פָּנִי 17:43; *χαμω* חָמוֹ 88:47.  
 Dubious: *λαμεσαλ* (read *λεμασαλ*?) לְמִשָּׁל 48:5; || transcribed by *ε* (10 t.): *βεκορβ* בְּקָרָב 35:2; *βεσανει* בְּשָׁנוֹעִי 30:23; *βεκοδοσ*[ι] בְּקֹדֶשִׁי 88:36; *γεδουδ* גְּדוּד 17:30; *ζερονωθαι* זְרוּעֹתַי 17:35; *θεσωβαβηνη* תְּסֹבְבֵנִי 31:7; *λερβι* (sic) לְרִיבִי 34:23; *μεσιω* מְשִׁיחוֹ 27:8; *σεμω* שְׁמוֹ 28:2; *σερουφα* צְרוּפָה. With artificial gemination: *λεββαβεχεμ* לְבַבְכֶּם 30:25; || by *o* (once): *μοσανε* מְשֹׁנָה 17:34; || by *ι* (once): *χισους* כְּסוּס 31:9; || unexpressed by any vowel (50 t.): *βγηουαθω* בְּגָאוֹתָיו 45:4; *βδαμι* בְּדָמִי 29:10; *βδερχ* בְּדֶרֶךְ 31:8; *βκερβα* בְּקֶרְבָּה 45:6; *βκωλω* בְּקוֹלוֹ 45:7; *βλεβ* בְּלֵב 45:3; *βνη* בְּנִי 28:1; 30:20; 48:3 *bis*; 88:48; *βοωραθ* r. *βθωραθ* בְּתוֹרַת 1:2; *βρεδθι* בְּרִדְתִּי 29:10; *βριθι* בְּרִיתִי 88:35; *βσαβτ* בְּשָׁבֵט 88:33; *βσαλουι* בְּשָׁלוֹי 29:7; *βσαρωθ* בְּצָרוֹת 30:8; 45:2; *βσεδκαθαχ* בְּצִדְקָתָהּ 30:2; *βσεθρ* בְּסֵתֶר 31:21; *βσρχα* (sic) בְּסָפָה 30:21; *βχεννωρ* בְּכִנּוּר 48:5; *βχωρ* בְּכוֹר 88:28; *ζχορ* זָכָר 88:48; *ηζχορ* (sic) זָכָר 88:51; *θβουνωθ* תְּבוּנוֹת 48:4; *λβηθ* לְבִית 30:3; *λδαυειδ*, *λδαδ* לְדָד 28:1; 29:1; 30:1; 34:1; 35:1; 88:50, 76; *αδωρ* r. *λδωρ* לְדוּר 48:12; *λμαωλ* לְמַחֹל 29:12; *λσετφ*

לְשֹׁטָה 31:6; λσωνωθ (with a query apud REDPATH) לְשֹׁנוֹת 30:21; λχου לְכוּ 45:9; μσιαχ מְשִׁיחָה 88:39, 52; μσουδωθ מְצוּדוֹת 30:3; σμα שְׂמַע 29:11; σμην r. σμηη שְׂמִיחָה 34:26; σφωθαῖ שְׂפָתַי 88:35; φλαγαν פְּלָגִי 45:5; χειλ r. χσιλ כַּסִּיל 48:11; χρηε כִּרְעַ 34:14; χσεδκαδ (sic) כְּצִדְקָה 34:24; χφαρδ כְּפָרִד 31:9.

Cases with initial י: with *a* (once): *ιασουαθι* יִשְׁוִיעָתִי || with *ε* (once): *ιεσανου* יִשְׁוִיעִי 17:42; || with no vowel (11 t.): *ιδαββερ* יִדְבָר (pronounced *īdāber*, that is probably *īdāber*) 48:4; *ιδαββηρου* יִדְבָרוּ 34:20; *ιμαλλετ* יְמַלֵּט 88:49; *ιμη* יְמִי 88:46; *ιμιν* יְמִין 88:43; *ιμινω* יְמִינוֹ 88:26; *ιριβαῖ* יְרִיבֵי 34:1; *ισαββου* יִסְבִּי 48:6; *ισουβερ* (sic) יִשְׁבֵּר 45:10; *ισουωθ* יִשְׁוִעוֹת 27:8; *ισωβαβεννου* יִסְוִבְבִנוּ 31:10.

Initial י is transcribed *ou* (with no vowel following) in numerous cases.

(γ) followed by a laryngeal: with *a* (8 t.): *βααφφω* בְּאַפֹּ 29:6; *βααμυρ* בְּהַמִּיר 45:3; *βαανφη* בְּחַנְפִי 34:16; *βαεζραθι* (ε latet) בְּעִזְרָתִי 34:2; *λααβδ* לְעַבְד 35:1; *λααπαρι* לְהַרְרִי 29:8; *χaa* כְּאַח 34:14; *χaaφαρ* כְּעַפֵּר 17:43. As will be noticed, the vowel following is *a* (—, —, — in segolate form), except in one case which is not certain; || with *o* (once), sequ. *o*: *λοομ* לְחָם (read לְחָם?) 34:1, hence with assimilation; || with *ε* (4 t.): *βεεζδαχ* בְּחַסְדִּיהָ 30:8; *βεειρ* בְּעִיר 30:22; *μεεθθα* מְחַתָּה 88:41; *νεουσα* נְחוּשָׁה 17:35, apparently not on the principle of assimilation; || with *η*, clearly on the principle of assimilation (3 t.): *βηηκι* בְּחִיקִי 88:51; *βηηναν* r. *βηηναν* בְּעֵינַי 35:3; *μηηρα* מְהִירָה 30:3; || with no vowel (18 t.): *θελαθαχ* תְּהִלָּתָהּ 34:28; *λωλαμ* לְעוֹלָם 29:7, 13; 30:2; 48:9, 12; 88:29, 37, 38 (/עוֹלָם), 53; *λωσιημι* לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי 30:3; *μωδ* מֹאֵד 45:2; *νομ* נָאֵם 35:2; *σαθι* שְׂאֵתִי 88:5; *σωλ* שְׁאוֹל 48:15; 88:49; with initial י: *ιαλληλου* יְהִלְלוּ 88:32; *ιδαθι* יְהִידָתִי 34:17. Whether the laryngeal was sounded, it is impossible to tell.

(bc) in the middle of a word:

(a) at the end of a closed syllable of the type מְלִכִּי, examples *αβδω* עֲבָדִי 34:27; *φααλθα* פָּעִלָתָּ 31:20; *κραημι* יִקְרָאֵנִי 88:27; *φεδιων* פְּדִיֹן 48:9; *λαβλωμ* לְבָלוֹם 31:9; *νεγδι* נִגְדִי 88:37; *οσχι* חֲשִׁבִי 17:29; *χοφρω* כְּפָרוֹ 48:8. A following laryngeal is of

course ignored in transcription: *μαχωβίμ* מַכְאוֹבִים; *μεριβου* יִרְחִיבוּ 34:21; *ισαχα* יִשְׁעָה 17:36; *σεμα* שְׂמָחָה 29:12; *μαλαμωθ* מְלַחְמוֹת 45:10; *ιερ* יִרְאֶה 88:49; *ιερημ* יִרְעִם 48:15; *νεβαλ* נְבָהָל 29:8; *ιθαλλαλου* יִתְהַלֵּל; *εσοκημ* אֶשְׁחֶקֶם 17:43. In *ισσι* יִשְׁעִי 17:47 we have actual slurring of the laryngeal and compensative assimilation. A preceding laryngeal is equally ignored in transcription: *ιδαν* יִדְהוּ 34:26; *βαταθι* בְּטַחְתִּי 30:7; *φεθεθα* פְּתַחְתָּ 29:12; *ιει* יִהְיֶה 88:37, יִהְיֶה 88:49. With following י: *σαλουι* שְׁלוֹי 29:7. With following י: *αδιω* עֲדִי 31:9; *ελιων* עֲלִיֹן 45:5; 88:28.

Note *εργλαι* רַגְלֵי 30:9, but *ρεγλαι* 17:34, 39; *λφνωθ* לְפָנוֹת 45:6; *μσωθαι* מִצְוֹתֵי 88:32; *θου* תְּהוּי 31:9, as if = תְּהוּי; *ερι* (probably corrupt) יִרְאֶה 48:11. *κοδος* קְדוֹשִׁי 88:36 and *וני* עֲנִי 30:8 are perhaps to be explained on the analogy of Syriac ܡܢܝ with silent ܡ and the like.

(β) at the end of a closed syllable of the type מַלְכִי: *μαλχη* מַלְכִי 88:28; *αβλη* הַבְלִי 30:7; *εσρη* אֶשְׁרִי 1:1; 111:1; *δαβρη* דְּבָרִי 34:20; *ισρη* יִשְׁרִי 31:11; *ρεγη* רַגְעִי 34:20; *βαλβαβαμ* = בְּלִבָּם / בְּלִבָּם 34:25; *βανγαιβ* (r. -μ) בְּנִגְעִים 88:33; *βαρσωναχ* בְּרִצּוֹנָה 29:8; *βαρσωνω* בְּרִצּוֹנוֹ 29:6; *λαβνη* לְבָנִי 48:1; *ρυχση* רִכְשִׁי 30:21. Note, however, *λεββαβεχεμ* לְבַבְכֶּם 30:25; *αναναθαχ* עֲנוּחָה 17:36 (provided it comes from עֲנוּה and not עֲנוּה). Note also *βσεβ* (r. μ) *ωθαμ* which presupposes בְּשִׂמּוֹתָם / בְּשִׂמּוֹתָם 48:12 and *λσαχηναυ* / לְשִׁכְנֵי 88:42. Interesting is the transcription *εκβωθ* for עֲקֻבוֹת 88:52. *εζαχ* for הֶזְקִי 30:25 implies הֶזְקִי, a Syriasm.

— at the end of a closed syllable of the type וּבְרִיתִי is equally unrepresented: *συβριθι* וּבְרִיתִי 88:29; *ουθφελλαθι* וְתַפְלֹתִי 34:13; *ουμσουδαθι* וּמִצְוֹתִי 30:4; *ουθνεελνι* (an interesting form presupposing וְתַנְהִלֵנִי, comp. my “Notes on Semitic Grammar,” III, *AJSL*, XIX (1902), 45 ff.) / וְתַנְהִלֵנִי 30:4; *ου.βσαλη* וּבִצְלֵי 34:15; *ουβμσφατι* / וּבְמִשְׁפָּטִי 88:31; *ουλμαν* וּלְמַנְ 30:4. Note, however, with *a*: *ουμασαννεα* וּמִשְׁנֵאִי 17:41; *ουβαμωτ* וּבְמוֹט 45:3; with *ε*: *ουβερωβ* וּבְרִב 48:7. Quite peculiar are: *ουαλσωνι* וּלְשׁוֹנֵי 34:28; *ουαρημ* וּרְעִים 27:9.

(γ)  $\text{ֿֿ}$  in the middle of a word. The second  $\text{ֿֿ}$  may be expressed by a vowel:  $\text{οὐερογογν} \text{יִיְהִרְגִי}$  17:46;  $\text{μεμαστ(} \gamma \text{)} \omega\text{-ρωθειμ} \text{מִמְסַכְרוֹתֵיהֶם}$  17:46; so also  $\text{ιεξεβου} \text{יִעְזְבוּ} / \text{יִעְזְבוּ}$  17:46. But we find examples with no vowel for the second  $\text{ֿֿ}$ :  $\text{μισχνωθαμ} \text{מִשְׁכְּנוֹתָם}$  48:12;  $\text{ισμου} \text{יִשְׁמוּהוּ}$  45:4;  $\text{ιμερου} \text{יִמְרוּהוּ}$  45:4;  $\text{ιφρου} \text{יִפְרוּהוּ}$  34:26. Note  $\text{μσχνη} \text{מִשְׁכְּנִי}$  45:5; prob. r.  $\text{μεσχνη}$ . Interesting are  $\text{ισσεμου} \text{יִשְׁסֶמוּהוּ}$  34:24 and  $\text{ικερσου} \text{יִקְרְסוּהוּ}$  34:19 which I explain on the analogy of Syriac forms with the  $\text{ܡܫܚܢܐ}$  as segolized forms = *isemhū, iikersū*, comp. the parallel forms from first laryngeals:  $\text{יִעְזְבוּ}$  and the like.

(d) in the middle of a word under a geminate consonant. The examples available are:  $\text{ζωμερου} \text{(sic)} \text{זִמְרוּ}$  29:5;  $\text{θεσσερηνι} \text{תִּשְׁסֶרְהִי}$  31:7;  $\text{ουμασαννεα} \text{וּמַסְאֲנַנְעָא}$  17:41;  $\text{ουεθαζερηνι} \text{וּשְׁתַּאֲזֶרְהִי}$  29:12; 17:40;  $\text{φελλετηνι} \text{פִּלְטִי}$  30:2; without vowel:  $\text{εθηγου} \text{אַתְהִיגֹוּ}$  88:28;  $\text{μεχφερим} \text{מִכְפִּירִים}$ ;  $\text{βεσανει} \text{בִּשְׁוֵעִי}$  30:23;  $\text{ιεσανου} \text{יִשְׁוֵעִי}$  17:42; with the laryngeal ignored:  $\text{χαβημωθ} \text{כְּבִהְמוֹת}$  48:13;  $\text{ουνεσσημ} \text{וְנִשְׁאֵם}$  27:9;  $\text{ουχεσσω} \text{וְכִסְאֹו}$  88:30, 37, 45.

(e)  $\text{ֿֿ}$  after a vowel with  $\text{מֶתֶג} \text{(ֿֿ)}$ . As a rule no vowel! Thus with  $\text{ֿֿ}$ :  $\text{αμου} \text{אַמְרוּ}$  34:21;  $\text{ασσα} \text{עֲשִׂיָּה}$  30:10;  $\text{σαμου} \text{שִׁמְחוּ}$  34:15;  $\text{ταμνου} \text{טַמְנוּ}$  30:5; with  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$ :  $\text{ηρφου} \text{הִרְפוּ}$  88:52 *bis*; with  $\text{ֿֿֿֿ}$ :  $\text{ασσωμριμ} \text{הַשְׁמִרִים}$  30:7;  $\text{ωμου} \text{וְאַמְרוּ}$  34:25, 27;  $\text{μείωρδη} = \text{מִיֻּרְדִי} / \text{מִיֻּרְדִי}$  29:4;  $\text{ωβρη} \text{עֲבִרִי}$  88:42;  $\text{ουβαχ} \text{אֻיְבִיָּה}$  88:52;  $\text{ουβαν} \text{אֻיְבִי}$  88:43. But we find also a vowel:  $\text{ιουχαλευ} \text{יְחִלֹוּ}$  17:39;  $\text{οιεβα} \text{אִיְבִי}$  17:38, 41; 29:2; with a following laryngeal:  $\text{αβωττειμ} \text{הַבְּטִחִים}$  48:7; contrast  $\text{σωνη} \text{(sic)} \text{טִנְאִי}$  34:19. On the whole therefore agreement with the tradition of the Jewish grammarians. Compare on the subject BAER, *תורת אמת*, p. 9, footnote \*\*, where further proof is adduced from the system of accentuation.

(f) for  $\text{ֿֿ}$  followed by  $\text{ֿֿ}$  we have the following examples:  $\text{βιεδ} \text{בִּידֶּה}$  30:9;  $\text{βιαδαθ} \text{(sic)} \text{בִּידָה}$  30:6;  $\text{χαρη} \text{פִּרְחֶה}$  88:38, apparently without vowel.

(h) Comp.  $\text{ισωβαβεννου} \text{יִסְוְבַבְנִי}$  31:10;  $\text{θεσωβαβηνι} \text{תִּסְוְבַבְנִי}$  31:7;  $\text{αραρι} \text{הִרְרִי}$  29:8. Contrast  $\text{ελλελεχ} \text{אַהֲלִלְךָ}$  34:18.— $\text{εμαραθ}$  for  $\text{אַמְרַת}$  17:31 may be explained as  $\text{אַמְרַת} \text{(אַמְרַת)}$ .—



Examples for הֶמֶל: *αμμααζεργην* הֶמֶאֶזְרִי 17:33; *λαμανασση* לִמְנַצֵּחַ 30:1; 35:1; 45:1; 48:1; but *αμμηαλιμ* הֶמִּיחִלִּים.

(i) ׀ at the end of the word. While an example in the Hebrew covered by the new Hexaplar material does not appear to be available, numerous examples are found in consequence of two causes: (1) the ending ׀ of the second person masc. sing. perf. is in late Aramaic and Syriac fashion transformed to ׀, hence arise forms like *σαμθ* / שִׁמְתָּ 88:41; *φαρασθ* / פִּרְצָתָ 88:41; *μαγαρθ* / מִפְּרָתָה 88:45 and the like, although we also meet with ׀ retained, e. g. *σαφανθα* צִפְנָתָה 30:7; 88:48; (b) the monosyllabic form of segolates. Examples abound, e. g. *αρς* אֶרֶץ 34:20; 45:7; 88:28; *δερχ* דֶּרֶךְ 88:42; *εσδ* חֶסֶד 31:10; *ζεχρ* זֶכֶר 29:5; *βοκρ* בֹּקֶר 45:6 and the like (though forms like *ιεθερ* יֶתֶר 30:24 are also met with); with middle laryngeals: *χας* כֶּסֶס 30:10; *σак* שָׁחַק 88:38; with third laryngeals: *νєσ* נֶצַח 88:47. Hence the Hebrews were apparently capable of pronouncing ׀ at the end of a syllable (word) without inserting a parasitic vowel.

The manner of transcribing the הֶטְפֵּיךְ, though I have collected all the examples, need not be discussed here as it is foreign to my present purpose.

To sum up, over against the rules of BEN ASHER and ḤAĪŪḠ which no doubt represent the scholastic tradition of the Tiberian Masoretes, the Hexaplar transcriptions reveal a state of pronunciation by no means fixed. In some instances the Masoretic rules are substantiated, notably in the pronunciation of the ׀ after מִתֵּן (*ασσωμυμ* הַשְׁמִירִים and the like); the assimilation of the ׀ to the vowel over a laryngeal may also be witnessed as a tendency; but on the whole, *a* and *ε* are comparatively speaking by no means as frequent representations of the vocal ׀ as is the absence of a vowel altogether. In the latter point the Hexaplar pronunciation approaches the current Ashkenazic one, which however is proved as old by Origen's transcription of the very first word of Scripture: *βρησιθ* (also Jerome: *bresith*, s. FIELD *ad locum*). SIEVERS (*Metrische Studien*, I, §§ 5, 2; 211; 212; 218; 213; 220) has on metrical grounds done away with the "Schwa medium" in מְלִיכִי, לְמַלְכִּים, וְיָהִי, הֶיָּנִי and the "vocal schwa" in דְּבַר, דְּבָרֵי, hence practically everywhere in the context; that it could be

missed at the very opening of the discourse is proved by *βρῆσιθ*. The tendency toward "silencing" the "vocal" שׁוֹא is old; in Origen's times it was on the ascendant. As the גְּעִיָּה proves, the *allegro* or *lento* pronunciation was dictated by the musical recitation (accentuation), which naturally varied according to the context. The segolatization itself is but an example of *lento* pronunciation; how far it obtained in the times of Origen, has been shown above. In a living pronunciation, not yet regulated by rule, the old and the new will be found one by the side of the other; compared with the Masoretic tradition, the Hexaplar pronunciation of Hebrew is in some respects more archaic, and in others more modern.